S /675 cont./
582 of consanguineous marriages. More important, undoubtedly than the
143 above two will be the factors of the decrease of endogamy by the
[162] dissolution of social barriers, although the prejudice against misalliances seems as long-lived as the human species.

Whether sudden or progressive, this social revolution, furthered by education, will sooner or later bring about the development of means of communication and the emancipation
S of the woman as well as of the man, for its is often the parents who
[584] choose the bride, rather than the future bridegroom.

W In addition, one notes among the Wolof a smaller proportion
[582] of consanguineous marriages in the ports than in the villages.
[369]

As in Europe, but for different reasons, this evolution will result in the "breakup of the isolates," the social and ethnic frontiers going back to those of the nation.

Conclusion

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143 The demographic inquiry by sampling carried out in the valley of the Senegal has made it possible to measure endogamy on the basis of the frequency of consanguineous marriages and the mean coefficient of consanguinity. The figures obtained are by far the highest that are now known for populations of such numerical importance. This peculiarity causes the populations concerned to evolve under very special biological circumstances which are not without reverberations on their demographic condition. (See Sutter [16].) An investigation in this direction is being pursued.

The genetic aspect of the situation should no longer be ignored, and anthropologists concerned with the mechanism of the differentiation of human types will find the material for taking into consideration the intervention of a factor which is also important.

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/See the foreign text for the bibliography on p. 676 of the original text./

[10 cont.]

369 581 consequences with regard to celibacy and the orientation of manners and customs? This will be the last part of this too brief sketch.

What is the origin of the expenses?

It is in large part in the social organization of the Senegalese Blacks before the introduction of Islam and before the French peace.

584 Marriage then depended upon the wishes of the fathers and mothers of the spouses. The marriage portion imposed was 583 enormous, even though proportional to the social rank of the fiancé and to his wealth. It was made up of captives and animals. In return, the wife, in order to maintain her dignity in the eyes of the husband and the co-spouses, joined her new residence with often as much wealth as she had received. This per- [582] haps is the origin of the frequent unions between cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew. The purpose of this for the family was to keep its wealth concentrated.

As Moslems, we have introduced the Koran and the Koranic marriage portion, different for a slave and for a free woman, with an assessment proportional to the wealth of the husband, but which is principle requires no costly pomp and which is not preoccupied with griots [singers, poets, storytellers].

With the French peace, the captives have been withdrawn from the exchanges, and the idea of replacing them with gold, money, or animals (now very vulgar property) prevails.

369 584 178 But with freedom the horizon was also widened. The suitors, formerly localized and nearly always known in advance, have multiplied. One originally from the Fouta is quickly transported to Sène and, without bloodshed, without abduction, can marry a girl whom many young men dream of winning. The rivalries, which not long ago were settled on the field of battle or by thrusts of daggers, have perpetuated themselves under the indifferent eyes of the Whites, but on the field of marriage and by thrusts of gold or banknotes (diamalé, rivalry for a woman).

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one [583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 582 [584] This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

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So some young persons of the same rank are going to marry. Communication is maintained more or less secretly by neighbor women or more commonly by a caste girl, a friend of the future wife, until the young man is certain of success. Then he goes to make his "attack" with thrusts of banknotes; he must compel his rivals to yield to him. The parents of the girl are not supposed to know about the thousands of francs thus pledged, and the cost is not counted in the expenses of the marriage. When the rivals accept their defeat, the candidate makes his request [11] officially. Otherwise, the attack must continue until it is settled. Then the man announces hi[redacted]idacy, and the real expenses for his marriage begin.

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1. The Varugar. This is the sum that is deposited, with the approval of the parents of the two young people. It is a guarantee for the man that the girl will no longer receive any other candidate, and, for the girl, assurance of being obligatorily supported by the suitor. The amount of the varugar varies: fixed at 2,500 francs at the minimum, it easily reaches 25,000 to 30,000 francs among the "nouveaux riches" of the Black market place.

As the proverb says, however, it is a long way from the cup to the lips, and it is a long way between the varugar and the marriage. Even though the amount due first is within the reach of every purse, the actual expenses of the marriage are enormous, and the man has to set about with the utmost slowness to save what is needed. Need it be added that, faced with following fashion and dressing accordingly, the future spouses devote to that a large part of their earnings? In order to make haste, very often the young man goes on a "campaign" and returns at the end of several years (two to seven) bearing the sum required for the marriage and for the nuptials, the last two phases.

2. The N'dakutar. This is a lump sum of 1,000 francs at least (which sometimes exceeds 5,000 francs), which the suitor gives to the girl in order to be presented to her parents. Accepting the n'dakutar implies for the latter the duty of

[11 cont.]/

369 584 583 dismissing all present or future suitors. Originally this was an indemnity to be shared among the unhappy rivals, or was intended as reimbursement for the advances collected by the parents of the girl without her knowledge. Some reputedly avaricious families demand it several times.

369 683 3. The Marriage Portion. Its amount does not rigorously follow the fluctuations which characterize the other expenses. It amounts to 2,500 francs and is fixed by a marabout, by converting the heads of cattle of Koranic law into French money. Religious in nature and hence escaping the whims of fashion, its importance is wholly secondary. One can delay five or six years or more before paying it. Many monogamous households get along very well, even though not a sou of the marriage portion has been paid. Payment becomes obligatory, however, when [587] the husband wishes to contract a second marriage.

4. Ngegenay (The Pillow). This is an optional expense, but one that good breeding requires. It consists of leaving under the wife's pillow a sum of money and a quantity of little gifts [585] (perfumes, sandals, bracelets, etc.) the day after the first nuptial contact. It is like a manifestation of the joy that one felt upon finding his wife to be virgin.

5. The Decoration. This is the essence of the Saint-Louis marriage. All of the expenses listed up to here are more or less private, or in any case little known, except for the marriage portion, by the neighboring quarters or the relatives far away from the city. For the Decoration, the payment is preceded by widely disseminated announcements several months in advance. It is exhibited before all the relatives of the married couple, their friends, their acquaintances, before all the persons of inferior castes, who go everywhere and who will repeat what they have seen, in brief, before the city.

Optional in the beginning, it today assumes such an obligatory character that only in Saint-Louis do the instructors dare to avoid it or to minimize its importance. Of what is the Decoration composed? Essentially of a box, a basket for effects, and a basket of small goods, but most especially what one has been able to amass that is precious and rare, and which has not

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369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

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584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

[12 cont.]

369 178 [584] [581] [562] always temporary marriages, so great is the attachment of the Saint-Louis man for his city and for the girls of his city. Although this situation is very unfortunate for the boys, it is less so for the girls. Although some of them are still sacrificed very young to rich old men, many wait to meet the young man of their choice before marrying. The marriages of infant girls have become very rare: the girls of Saint-Louis now marry at a [587] reasonable age, at about 20, much like French girls. It is a profound change. Convinced of being obliged to wait a long 369 178 562 time for a husband, they are acquiring an independence that their mothers have not known; they go out, they go to dances where they dance European dances, they dare to sit at a table [191] in a café, they dress according to their taste, they speak French. They go to school without constraint, which is also a revolution, and they, like the boys, look for a salaried position, which allows them a very broad life, like single persons, and which, within the household, frees them from the guardianship of the [595] husband. Polygamy, which the modern [évoluées] women generally refuse, is more and more rare in Saint-Louis (4).

4. A polygamous husband most often shuns the modern women for the sake of peace in his household, because the personal earnings of these women permit them to buy finery other than that which he periodically distributes to his spouses, and this provokes jealousy and quarrels. Recently a young female official was supposed to enter the home of a Saint-Louis official as the third or fourth wife. She opposed her parents and married according to her inclination. [578]

Educated girls have long been judged quite harshly, but this is passing. Many of the young girls who married against the wishes of their parents have been quickly forgiven when the latter saw the good appearance of the household and the affluence

/91 cont./

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
[466] are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
563 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
573 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

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369 177 563 families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.